6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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It seems highly probable that the "partially friendly Klamaths" who assisted Huntington were the Sprague River Klamath group under Motcunka'skEt or, if not that, that Motcunka'skEt must have either attended the 1865 treaty proceedings, which were held eight to ten miles west of Bly,[71] or at least have met Huntington when the latter was in Sprague River Valley. K 101 648

Nonetheless when Huntington returned to Salem, Ore., and sent in his Annual Report for 1865, plus a special list of the population of all the Indians in Oregon, he estimated the Klamath at 1,200, the Modoc at 700, and the "Yahooskin Snakes" at 100 souls.[72] But he fails to note, anywhere in this Report, that any additional Yahuskin had moved to Klamath Reservation to join the twenty-two Yahuskin present at the 1864 treaty-signing, so as to bring the total number of Yahuskin up to a hundred. His estimate of one hundred Yahuskin in 1865 fits the probable size of Motcunka'skEt's group, which Drew says was "small."[73] K 114 161

In September, 1865, Lindsay Applegate, Oregon pioneer who had served as interpreter at the 1865 Walpapi treaty in Sprague River Valley[74] was appointed Klamath Indian Agent, and assigned to duty in the vicinity of Klamath Lake.[75] He was then living in Ashland Mills (Ashland, Ore.); after his appointment he made two trips to Ft. Klamath in October and December, 1865. During his October visit Applegate "sent out a deputation of Yahooskin Snakes" with Panai'na and some of the Walpapi Snakes who had come on the Reservation as a result of the Walpapi treaty of 1865, to try to make a treaty of amity with one Howlark, a hostile Snake chief then reported to be in the vicinity of Sprague River Valley.[76] This attempt was unsuccessful.[77] On his December, 1865, visit Applegate issued rations at Ft. Klamath to the "few" Walpapi Snakes Panai'na had brought with him to the Reservation, and issued some flour to the Klamath and also to the "Yahooskins," who at the time were also at the Fort.[78] K N 648

The next year, 1866, was an eventful one. In April Panai'na and his Walpapi Snakes left the Klamath Reservation.[79] In May, 1866, Applegate again journeyed from Ashland Mills to Upper Klamath Lake, and started farming operations at Kowasti, the site of the first Agency, eight miles south of Ft. Klamath. The Klamath and Yahuskin helped him in these operations, and the future agency began to take shape. During the sum- N [166] K N [177 241]

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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K N 648

mer of 1866 Major W. V. Rinehart, then commanding Ft. Klamath, took a number of Snakes captive, "with the assistance of the Klamaths and Yahooskins."[80]

K N 101 131 648 721

That Applegate did not consider the Yahuskin to be "Snakes proper," although he refers to them officially as "Yahooskin Snakes" is evident from his first annual report, dated August 6, 1866. In this report he remarks, "There are at present no Snakes proper on the reservation unless we except some prisoners in the custody of the military at Fort Klamath....I am led to believe....that there is now a union of all the Snakes proper [underlining ours] for a more determined war....The universal belief among the Klamaths and Yahooskins is that the Snakes are all for war...'The Klamaths and Yahooskins,' Major Rinehart says, 'are eager to vindicate their loyalty, and would willingly become our allies in an invasion of the Snake domain.'"[81]

K N 648 166

By the end of September, 1866, the Snakes captured by Major Rinehart during the summer had evidently been removed to Sprague River Valley. Applegate writes, in his monthly report for Sept. 30, 1866:

> There are some Snake Indians on the Reservation in Moshenkosket's Country [Upper Sprague River Valley], in the care of that chief and his people [underlining ours]. They are the same who were placed there by Major Rinehart, by my permission. I understand that they desire to talk with me and I have appointed the 3rd of October for a talk with them. I do not have confidence that they are disposed to be peaceable only so far as they think it may bring them winter subsistence, and....I suspect that they have, where they are now, constant communication with war parties, and if required to come down nearer to the Fort and the Lower Klamath Indians, so that their communication with Paunine [Panai'na] would have to cease they would possibly leave the Reservation, if they could make their escape.[82]

N 648 166

Three days later, as scheduled, Applegate met these same Snakes at the Agency. The Snakes professed friendship, asked for winter subsistence and permission to remain in Sprague River Valley. Applegate told them they would have to

> ...come down to Council Grove, near the agency, where they could be cared for and protected. This they agreed to

N 648 166

> do....[but] on the succeeding night [Oct. 4, 1866] they left the reservation, taking with them some horses and guns belonging to the Yahooskins and Klamaths, and a [wagon] train sent out by Captain Sprague to convey their property [from Sprague River Valley] to Council Grove returned, and a hostile force was sent out instead [to capture them]....I became convinced that danger [from the Snakes] was imminent. Early in October I commenced the fortification of the agency buildings, which were completed....[83]

K 648 166 578

The help they had given Applegate and the military in the summer of 1866, and the abrupt withdrawal of Maj. Rinehart's Snake captives from the Reservation in the fall, made Motcunkanakkt and his people apprehensive; consequently they removed temporarily from Sprague River Valley to the vicinity of the Agency, where they spent the winter of 1866-1867.[84] This move brought them in close contact with the Upper Klamath Lake group of Klamath. Friction evidently developed between the leaders of the two groups, for on January 31, 1867, Applegate wrote to Huntington,

K 578

> "There has been considerable excitement occasioned by an attempt on the part of Moahenkosket chief of the Yahooskins [underlining ours] and his followers, to depose High chief LaLakes and become High Chief himself. But the attempt resulted in little more than a great deal of talk and excitement, and the revolution has been stayed."[85] Here we have our first specific instance, in an excellent source, of misapplication of the name Yahooskin to the Sprague River Klamath group. In another monthly report written on May 31, 1867, Applegate makes it clear that the Indians he refers to as "Yahooskins" belonged in Sprague River Valley[86]--and nowhere in his correspondence or reports does he mention any other Indian group as belonging in Sprague River Valley in 1867.

N K 101

K 101

There is also other evidence, both direct and indirect, indicating that the post-Reservation Yahuskin were Drew's Sprague River Valley Klamath group, to wit:

a) In 1867 and 1868 the Statistical Tables in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs list the "tribes" of "Klamath Snakes &c." of Oregon as "Klamath, Modoc, and four bands of Snakes." These "four bands" are Huntington's Woll-pah-pe, Wah-tat-kin, I-uke-spi-ule, and

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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K 101 Hoo-ne-boo-ly Snakes.[87] No fifth group (the Yahooskin) is included in the tabulation, as it was in Huntington's 1865 listing of five "Snake bands."[88]

K N 101 131 b) Late in 1868 Huntington made a trip through south-central Oregon; in a long unpublished account of this trip, written at Umatilla Indian Agency and dated December 22, 1868,[88a] Huntington lists and describes all the Snake groups in south-central Oregon. The only Snakes he mentions as being on Klamath Reservation are a destitute group of "about 130 souls" in Sprague River Valley, at "Yinax."[89] It is a matter of record [K 166] that this group of 130 Snakes were newcomers to Sprague River Valley, having moved there only a few months before Huntington visited it.[90] We know that the Sprague River Klamath or "Yahooskin" were also on the Reservation in 1868; therefore, since no reference is made to them it is plain that Huntington, like Applegate, did not regard them as Snakes.

c) In 1870 Klamath Sub-agent Capt. O. C. Knapp refers in his Annual Report to "the Yahooskins, half Klamaths, half Snakes."[91]

K N 166 648 d) In 1872, after Yainax sub-station had been established at the eastern ("upper") end of Klamath Reservation, in middle Sprague River Valley,[92] I. D. Applegate, Yainax sub-agent, enumerated the four groups of Indians under his care at Yainax Station. Applegate lists Schonchin's group of Modoc who were removed to Yainax in 1870;[93] Ocheo's band of Snakes, which was moved to Yainax from Camp Warner in 1869;[94] a Silver-Summer lakes band of Snakes which moved to Yainax in 1868;[95] and finally, "the Sprague River band."[96] This latter group is, obviously, the Klamath-Snake group under Moctunkas'kEt which Drew had encountered in Sprague River Valley in 1864. It is also, obviously, equatable by elimination with the post-Reservation Yahuskin who were in the Valley but who are not mentioned by I. D. Applegate.

K N 161 e) In 1875 population figures for Klamath Agency are given as follows: Klamaths 543, Modocs 103, Piutes 100,[97] Wal-pah-pe Snakes 101, Yahooskin Snakes 143.[98] In 1876 the Yahooskin are silently combined with the Klamath, in the following figures: Klamaths 676 (as against 543 of the year before), Modocs 100, Pi-ute Snakes 100, Walpahpe Snakes 137.[99] The 1877 figures are Klamath 667, Modoc 93, Walpahpee Snake 137.[100] In 1878 figures are given only for the Klamath (681), the Modoc (101), and the "Walpahpee or Yahooskin Snake" (148); the latter entry is clearly a con-

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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fusion.[101] In 1880 and thereafter population figures are for Klamath, Modoc, and Snake Indians.[102]

f) In 1926 Simon Isaac, a Klamath Indian, testified that the Yahuskin (by which he meant the post-Reservation Yahuskin) were at the 1864 treaty-signing, that he had seen them there, and that Moctunkas'kEt (who signed the treaty as a Klamath) was their chief. Isaac then volunteered that "the Paiutes [Walpapi Snakes] came to the Reservation two years later"—but unfortunately his volunteered testimony concerning the Paiutes was not pursued.[103]

g) In 1951 Ocho Winnemucca, a Northern Paiute,[104] when asked through an interpreter at the Reno hearing if he had ever heard of the people called Yahuskin, said: "Yes, he knows the one. In Oregon. He says are different tribe [from the Paiute]. That was the Chiliquin.'"[105] Asked again if the Yahuskin were Paiute, he stated positively, " 'No, different altogether.' " Asked a third time "'How about the Yahuskins, were they Piute?' " his answer was, " 'No, he says they're not Piutes.' "[106] Incredible as Winnemucca's replies seemed at the time to the attorney questioning him the historical data amply support his identification of the post-Reservation Yahuskin as being "Chiliquin" (Klamath), and not "Piute" (Northern Paiute).

3. Northern Paiute of the Silver-Summer-Abert Lakes Region. That there were Indians who frequented the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region in the first half of the 19th century and that these were probably Northern Paiute-speaking peoples, is indicated in various early sources. That these people were not "The Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians" who ceded this region in the treaty of October 14, 1864 and that they were not the "Yahooskins" of post-treaty Klamath Agency records, has been shown. Who, then, were they?

Early source material yields hints, only, in answer to this question. On May 27, 1827, Peter Skene Ogden, Chief Trader in charge of a Hudson's Bay Company Snake Brigade, had fifty-six horses stolen from his brigade near "Salt Lake" (Abert Lake?). Ogden remarks, "Shd. the thieves be Snakes we may find a guide." Two days later he notes that "the thieves' camp consisted of 14 tents." On June 1st, while on the borders of some "muddy lakes" (Warner Lakes?) Ogden "found huts of

Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region, which continued to remain isolated and undescribed. However in the late fall, as we have already noted, Huntington obtained by the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin Snake treaty of cession the entire Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region, embracing some 5,000 square miles.[132] 648

Two years after the 1864 Klamath treaty cession, in October, 1866, a small military expedition from Ft. Klamath "had a fight with a band of hostile Snake Indians near Lake Abbott [Abert]," fourteen Indians were killed and many wounded.[133] In September of the next year (1867) Lt. Small, then commanding Ft. Klamath, captured five Snakes at Silver Lake, and fourteen on Chewaucan River, between Summer and Abert lakes.[134] Small took his prisoners, nineteen in all, to Ft. Klamath, arriving at the fort on September 22, 1867.[135] On September 28 Lindsay Applegate held a council with the Indians on the Reservation, including the newly arrived Snake prisoners.[136] Two days later, on October 1, 1867, Applegate wrote to Huntington requesting a Snake interpreter; to justify the request he remarked in his letter, "Besides the Ya-hoos-kin Snakes there is a division of the Woll-pah-pe tribe on the Reservation. These last mentioned Snakes are parties to the Snake Treaty and are residing quietly and harmoniously on the Reservation in pursuance to the provisions of the compact."[137] In none of his previous correspondence does Applegate mention that any of the Walpapi had returned to the Reservation; this is the first reference to Walpapi having settled there since Panaiña had decamped in the spring of 1866. Obviously Applegate's "division" of Walpapi consisted of none other than the nineteen prisoners which Lt. Small had brought to the Reservation eight days previously from the Silver-Summer lakes region. 649 166

Less than a year after the first small detachment of Silver-Summer lakes Paiute had been brought onto Klamath Reservation the remainder of the Indians from Silver and Summer lakes voluntarily removed to the Reservation.[138] These later arrivals numbered around a hundred souls, and were also immediately referred to, in Agency correspondence and records, as "Wall pah-pe Snakes."[139] The applicability of this name, for Indians deriving in 1867 and 1868 from the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region, which had been ceded on the authority of the "Yahooskins" in 1864, is reserved for discussion in the second half of this paper. 101 166 649

648 In the treaty of 1865 the Walpapi ceded a large wedge-shaped tract of land in central Oregon, extending from Harney Lake northward to the North Fork of John Day River. The greater portion of this tract had already been ceded by the Walla Walla, the Confederated Tribes of Middle Oregon, and by the Klamath, Modoc and Yahuskin, in three previous treaties.[148] By the Walpapi treaty (which, as we have already noted, Huntington regarded as "mainly and addendum" to the Klamath treaty, bringing the Walpapi on the Klamath Reservation)[147] Huntington hoped that not only the Walpapi, but all the other Northern Paiute of central Oregon would eventually remove to Klamath, and that depredations by them would be ended.[148]

Upon ratification, the 1865 treaty provided for an expenditure of $2,000 per annum for five years, and $1,200 per annum for the next ten years, for beneficial objects for the Walpapi, such as would "advance them in morals and knowledge of civilization."[149]

Although any certain references to the Walpapi are lacking until the 1865 treaty, references to Panai'na (Pah-ni-ne),[150] the head signer, are fairly numerous. Through such, and also through references to some of the other signers, the ever-shifting locale and some of the activities of the Huntington-designated "Woll-pah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians" can be traced over a span of years.[151] [166] [101]

648 We hear of Panai'na earliest of all as a captive on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation, where he and "We-you-we-wa,"[152] were taken prisoners by Indian Agent A. P. Dennison and turned over to the military for safekeeping. Both captives "appearing to be well disposed," were employed as guides for Capt. H. D. Wallen's wagon road expedition in central Oregon in the summer of 1859, but near Harney Lake the two guides decamped, "taking with them several horses and two good rifles."[153]

Snake raids on Warm Springs were frequent from the year of Panai'na's and Weawewa's capture through 1868, and netted the raiders hundreds of heads of horses and cattle.[154] Panai'na engaged in several such,[155] but not much is heard of him specifically

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

648 728 people," he told Applegate, "were not all upon the reservation, but he would bring them within its limits immediately."[194]

Two months later, at the end of December, 1865, Lindsay Applegate met Panai'na again at Ft. Klamath. This time Panai'na had with him four men, and eighteen women and children, all of whom had been wintering in "Moshenkosket's Country." The Snake leader told Applegate that this group comprised all of his people who "were with him on the Reservation....the greater part of his people in opposition to his wishes had gone to pass the winter in that part of the country where his wife was taken prisoner in 1864, and that they had promised to join him on the Reservation early in the spring."[195]

648 166 After Applegate left Ft. Klamath Panai'na and his group returned to upper Sprague River Valley, where they stayed until April 22, 1866. On that date Panai'na, Tchatchaktchaksh, and the other Walpapi suddenly ran off without telling either Motcunka-'skEt[196] or LaLakes that they intended to leave the Reservation. A messenger from Motcunka'skEt to Maj. Rinehart reported, a few days after the fact, that the Snakes had left as the result of a summons to war from the Snake chief Howlark. Two Indians were sent out by Motcunka'skEt to find where Panai'na had gone. Rinehart later reported to Huntington that these scouts "went to Summer Lake then to Silver Lake and found no Indians but saw one fire far northward towards Dechutes river. They seem to think from tracks and signs that he has gone to the vicinity on Dechutes where you captured his family and killed those Indians. The Klamath chiefs agree unanimously that he has broken the treaty and deceived them and that he has gone not to return."[197]

At first Huntington was inclined to be hopeful that Panai'na had merely returned to spend the summer "in the region between Crooked River on the north, Harney Lake on the east, Summer and Upper Klamath Lakes [Klamath Marsh] on the south, and Mt. [137] Paulinee and Queah Valley on the west. This tract of country included in these bounds... affords fine grass. This band of Indians

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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have inhabited it heretofore and, in my opinion, have done so this past summer."[198] This however was a vain hope. Panai'ha never returned to Klamath Reservation although, as we shall see, various other Northern Paiute associated with him did return.

While he was on the Reservation Panai'ha and his people did not receive any benefits under the 1865 Walpapi treaty.[199] On July 5, 1866, the Walpapi treaty was ratified, and proclaimed July 10; therefore benefits under it were scheduled to begin in the fiscal year 1867-1868. At the time of ratification the only Walpapi Snakes on the Reservation were two captives the Klamath had taken, who claimed to have signed the Walpapi treaty, and whom the Klamath had turned over to Maj. Rinehart. Rinehart states: "One of the prisoners is named 'Gil-te-wa'[200] and is blind in one eye. The name of the other is unknown to me--but he says he signed the treaty." With the Walpapi treaty ratified, Rinehart was anxious to capture as many Snakes as possible, and states that all of the Klamath chiefs had promised him aid in doing so except Motcunka'skEt, who would therefore be closely watched.[201]

The Klamath brought several other Snake prisoners to Ft. Klamath during the summer of 1866. On July 8 they captured "another Snake named 'La-pa-k-u-git' and reported that three other Snakes were lurking in Sprague River Valley." Maj. Rinehart sent ten soldiers, ten Indians under Blow, a Klamath treaty signer, and the Snake Indian Giltewa as a guide, to capture these Snakes.[202] This party succeeded in taking four Snake men, two women and five children. The men were taken to Ft. Klamath, the women and children being left "at Moshenkaskit's on Sprague River."[203]

Near the end of July, 1866, Lindsay Applegate was able to report to Huntington that

> Major W. V. Rinehart... has captured altogether and brought to Fort Klamath...up to the 20th Inst. about 16 Snake prisoners. They have been captured usually on the headwaters of Sprague River. Two have escaped from custody and one was killed attempting to escape. Thirteen women and Thirty children are on the Reser-

N K 648

> vation with Moshunkosket's people having been left there by the capturing parties of soldiers and Klamath Indians. These women and children are those who belong to the prisoners at the Fort.

Applegate attributed the Army's success to "the war [against the Snakes] farther North," which probably drove them to take refuge in the Summer-Silver lakes-upper Sprague River country.[204]

N 648 726

In the meantime, little is heard of Panai'na after he left the Reservation. On Aug. 10, 1866 Capt. Walker[205] with a party of infantry pursued Panai'na "and a large band of warriors. They attacked them, but were driven back, Captain Walker having had a horse killed under him in the fight."[206] Some time in October, as we have already noted, Lts. Oatman and Small, of Ft. Klamath, engaged Indians near Lake Abert; possibly Panai'na was among them.[207]

N 648 166 [551]

By October, 1866, sixty "Snakes proper--16 men and 44 women and children" had been captured and brought onto Klamath Reservation. Among these were Shas'-took, We-ah'-shau, Ske'-zhe, Sah-too-too'-we and Now-weep-a-cow'-ich, all signers of the 1865 Walpapi treaty, as well as Enkail'toak and Wail-a'-cho-ak. These two last-named, with Shastook, met Indian Sub-agent Lindsay Applegate at Klamath Agency for a talk on Oct. 3, and promised that all sixty Snakes would immediately move down from Sprague River Valley to Council Grove, near the Agency, where Applegate and the Army could keep watch on them. Applegate assured them that if they did as told, and remained faithful "they might yet receive the benefits of the [1865] treaty now ratified and made good." Although he does not specifically refer at this time to these captives as "Walpapi Snakes" he clearly (and with reason) accepted them as such.

N K 648 N 166

True to form, the Walpapi quickly did the unexpected. The night of their talk with Applegate,

> the head men eluding the vigilance of Moshunkosket and his men[208] escaped to Sprague River Valley, and in the absence of that chief and his men, took two of his

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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> horses and five guns belonging to his people and with all the Snakes except a few men out hunting and 3 women out digging roots, left the limits of the Reservation, and a train of ten mules sent out by Capt. Sprague to transport their luggage down to Council Grove returned. Twenty Klamath Indians...together with Seventeen men under Lieut. Oatman on the morning of the 5th Inst. started in pursuit of the Snakes.... Only 9 or 10 men are left at Fort Klamath for duty.... The Fort, with its small number of men...would not at all be in Pau-ni-ne's way should he conclude to make a raid for...the military supplies for the winter [now] at the Fort, and the fat cattle on the prairies surrounding.[209]

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No Snake raids occurred on Klamath that fall, however. Panai'na and his band may have spent the winter of 1866-1867 either on Warner Mountain or on Crooked River. In January, 1867, Lt. W. C. McKay and seventy Warm Spring Indian scouts, operating in "Middle Oregon," discovered "that Pau-li-he...was camped and fortified upon a mountain...and the command climbed 2,000 feet to the point of rocks where he was stationed and fought all day, killing three Snake Indians in their hiding holes.... The snow was 14-15 inches deep, and they found it impossible to follow up Pau-li-he's retreat without forage for their horses."[210]

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Three months later, in the latter part of April, 1867, Panai'na was killed on Trout Creek. Ironically enough he was shot, not in battle, but "while enjoying a feast over an ox," and not by the military, but by an Oregon rancher.[211]

After Panai'na's death, Meacham says that Ocheo, another Snake leader,[212] "assumed command and conducted the last battle fought by this band,"[213] but we have found no corroboration for this statement.

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The fall of 1867 was an exciting one on the newly-established Klamath Reservation. In September, 1867, as already noted, Lt. Small captured and brought back to Ft. Klamath nineteen Snake prisoners from Silver Lake and Chewaucan Marsh.[214] On September 28 Lindsay Applegate held a general council at the Agency, at

"where the treaty with Wollpahpe Snakes was made on August 12, 1865." Applegate's purpose in making this trip was two-fold; to commence farming operations in that section of the Reservation and "to attempt to Secure an interview with the wild Snakes."[223] In both operations he was successful; he started what was soon to become Yainax Station,[224] and several of his Indians met ten Snake Indians on Silver Lake, and persuaded two of the latter to come to Applegate's camp at Council Bluffs. These two Snakes promised Applegate they would collect their people at Silver Lake and immediately come onto the Reservation.[225] By August 28 Applegate was able to report to Huntington that in pursuance of their promise the Snakes had come onto the Reservation, and that "Their chiefs Chock-toot and Enkaltoick, the former of whom was reported killed by troops from Fort Klamath last Summer,[226] are with them.... They say they have long had a desire to get onto the Reservation, but fear of the troops prevented them..."[227]

A letter from Capt. Thomas McGregor gives additional details on how the Walpapi, or as they are often referred to, "Chocktote's Band from Silver Lake" settled on Klamath:

> I have the honor to report..., that about two weeks ago, during my absence on scout, the small band of Snake Indians infesting the Country about Summer and Silver Lake came on to the Klamath reservation, and are now camped on Sprague River, with part of the Klamath Indians,[228] gathering food for Winter. — Two of these Indians were first brought in by some of the Klamaths, when William McKay (Physician at the Agency) started out and had an interview with the band, and brought them all in peaceabley. Mr. Wm. McKay informs me that there are no other Indians in the vicinity of either Summer or Silver Lakes. These Indians have had an interview with the Indian Agent, who made arrangements with them to remain on the reservation. One of the Chiefs who came in reported that he had lately been to Camp Harney.[229]

The Northern Paiute from Silver and Summer lakes under Tchâktot and Enkaltoick remained permanently on Klamath Reservation, in the eastern or Upper End. Late in November, 1868, Huntington visited them at "Yi-nax" and found that they consisted of about 130 souls, "in deplorably destitute condition, both as regards food and clothing. They are absolutely without clothing.... As to food, their only resource was a little store of roots and seeds which they had gathered in autumn, after the troops had ceased to harass them...."[230] In December, 1868, Ivan D. Applegate[231] reported thus on the new arrivals: "On Ish-tish-en-wax creek [Fishhole Creek] on the eastern line of the Klamath Reservation[232] there are near a hundred Snakes who lately came in, who show a disposition to remain peaceable, all express an ardent desire to be permanently settled on the Klamath Reservation."[233]

From 1869 onward the Walpapi were administered from Yainax, together with the Sprague River Klamaths ("Yahooskin Snakes"), Skontian's band of Modocs, and Ocheo's band of "Piutes" or "Snake Paiutes."[234] Occasionally additional Snakes from Silver and Summer lakes came in to join the Walpapi, as in 1870, when Ivan D. Applegate reports that: "On the 15 [March] inst. twelve Snake Indians, Three (3) men, Three (3) women and Six (6) children came in [to Yainax] from Silver Lake. They are highly pleased with the prospect here, and say they will be able to bring in during the comeing summer, upon the Reservation, a number of their people."[235]

For several years after they settled on the Reservation, hunting parties from "Choctote's band of Pah-Utahs...were not unusual" in Summer Lake Valley, according to Gen. Edward M. Canby. In 1873 three of Tchaktot's people who had gone to Summer Lake to trade were killed as hostiles by the settlers. In 1874, according to Klamath Agent L. S. Dyar, "a small party of Snake Inds. belonging to Chocktote's band" retaliated by killing "one or two head of cattle in Summer Lake Valley, a short distance from the Reservation line .... The leader fled to some of the Snake bands to the East of Warner ...."[235a]

N 101 referred to as "Piutes;" direct questioning will, however, elicit another name — Yahuskin. Pete Paulina, for example, when specifically asked at a court hearing in 1927, perfunctorily admitted to being a Yahuskin; so did Bob Foster, another witness also living at the Piute Camp near Beatty.[247] "Piute" and "Yahuskin" may have become synonymous several decades ago; Inspector James McLaughlin, writing in 1910, refers to the Piutes of the Upper End of Klamath Reservation as the "Ya-hoo Snakes or Ya-hoos-kins" and the "Ya-hoos."[248] Such a confusion of names on the part of White interrogators and authors is regrettable, to say the least.

N 114 The only ethnographer who has visited the present day Northern Paiute on Klamath Reservation is Isabel Kelly, who spent five days at Beatty, Ore., in 1930. Kelly states that "The Beatty band [622] [of Northern Paiute] is known as the Go?y'atikadü, Freshwater crab eaters, a designation which is post-reservation in period. N [166] The members of this band came originally from Summer and Silver Lakes, Oregon, where they were known as the Dühü'tcyatikadü, or Deer eaters."[249] Kelly obtained some folk tales and one N 115 historical narrative about Tcháktot from Beatty informants;[250] also some ethnographic data from Dr. Sam Wata, a former Northern Paiute shaman who in the early 1860's had lived at Silver Lake.[251]

N 181 According to what I was told in 1952 by Klamath Indian Agent E. J. Diehl, the Piutes on Klamath Reservation today are noticeably conservative, in comparison with the Klamath and Modoc parts of the Reservation population.

(To be concluded)

Notes

K N 101 114 140. Since Part 1 of this paper appeared, additional archival material was found which establishes an historical continuity for the Walpapi Snakes, possibly from 1859 onward, but certainly from 1864 up to the present. This new material, which is included in the present Part 2, also goes far to confirm identification of the post-Treaty Yahuskin as a Klamath group of upper Sprague River Valley.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

N K 226 been dammed, and in April and May small fish in great numbers, known as ishtish, were collected by the Klamaths, Modocs and N [103] Paiutes at this dam, the site of which was known as Ishtishweawax. When the Reservation boundary lines were run in 1871 and N K [166] Fishhole Creek fell outside the eastern line, the Walpapi and Sprague River Klamath apparently moved a few miles west, within the Reservation line and near the present town of Beatty, Ore.

233. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Dec. 31, 1868.

N [101] 234. These four groups are mentioned repeatedly in published and unpublished sources relating to Klamath Reservation and Yainax, from 1869 onward. See, for example, p. 110.

000 235. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Camp Yia Nax [sic], Klamath, Ore., March 31, 1870.

235a. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ed. M. Canby to Governor of Oregon, Van Bremer's, Cal., Mar. 23, 1873; RCIA 1873 [CDS #1578] p. 692; NA. WDC. DC. 1195-D.C.-1873. L.S. Dyar to H. Clay Wood, Klamath Agency, Ore., June 2, 1873; Record, pp. 199-200.

236. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Camp Yia-Nax, Klamath Reservation, Ore., Dec. 31, 1870; ibid., Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Yia-Nax, Klamath Reservation, Ore., Oct. 31, 1871; fn. 105. LeLu was a Klamath.

N 648 237. In November, 1869, Tcháktot attended and spoke at a council Superintendent Meacham held with various Snake leaders at Camp Harney (NA., Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC, 25-0-1970, Encl. 1. A. B. Meacham to A. L. Dallas, Camp Harney, Oct. 29, 1869; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1870. M-1045. Report of Proceedings of Indian Council held at Camp Harney, Nov. 8, 1869; NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC, 25-0-1869. Elmer Otis to A.A.A. General, Portland, Ore., Nov. 22, 1869). In 1870 we learn that Meacham had had a small, chimneyless house built for Tcháktot, that in June Meacham gave Commissary Ivan D. Applegate permission to take Tcháktot with him on a twenty-day trip, and that in October Applegate proposed to employ Sam'l. Reed, a "Yahooskin," and Jake Chocktoot, a "Snake," at Yainax (WDC. DC. 0-31-Enc. 1-1870. Elmer Otis to A.A. General, DC., Camp Warner, Ore., June 8, 1870; Official Letters Received, A. B. Meacham to I. D. Applegate, Salem, June 15, 1870; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Ap-

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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K 101 243. Note that even Ivan Applegate here uses "Klamath Indians" instead of "Yahooskin Snakes" for the Klamath group under Barcley LeLu at Yainax.

N 101 621 244. The hundred and fifty Snakes would be Tcháktot's Walpapi Snakes, since it is expressly stated that Ocheo's people did not go. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Yainax, March 31, 1872.

245. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, July 21, 1873.

N 115 361 246. Namely, David and Roy Chocktoot, and Susie Chocktoot Archie (Kelly, Surprise Valley, p. 69, Northern Paiute Tales, pp. 364-365; Court of Claims E-344, pp. 406, 856); also Pete Paulina who was born at Silver Lake ca. 1866 or 1867 (Court of Claims E-344, p. 997).

247. Court of Claims E-344, pp. 406, 997.

248. My Friend the Indian, pp. 320, 326.

N 114 166 249. Kelly, Northern Paiute Tales, p. 364. Kelly would have been more accurate had she said that they came from the Silver-Summer lakes region in 1867 and 1868.

250. Kelly, Northern Paiute Tales, p. 364; Surprise Valley Paiute, pp. 205-206.

251. Court of Claims E-344, pp. 997-998.